1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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the fire burns all night through, and in the ascending heat and smoke the family sleeps warm and grimily, the householder on the *babari*,[1] his wife and family on the *gaga*,[2] and his pigs and dogs in the *su*.[3] Under the constant influence of the rising smoke the interior of the house acquires a curious metallic polish, and the poles of the roof become coated with a black lichen of soot. Conflagrations are rarer than one would expect under the circumstances.

Miscellaneous Buildings

The men's house is called *oro*. If built in connexion with a ceremony and intended as a male club-house or what might be termed a concert-hall, the men's house is called specifically *arijo*; it will occupy a central position and be of more pretentious size—say 40 feet long; and it may boast some decoration in the form of frayed sago leaf hanging in fringes from the eaves. These *arijo* houses are not seen very frequently. A peculiar feature of one or two of them is an outward-sloping wall, which gives the edifice the contours of an oblong haystack. The ordinary *oro*, which is simply the regular domicile of the young bachelors, may be small and without any distinctive feature.

A mere roofless platform is sometimes to be seen as a place of social intercourse. Among the southern tribes it is more usually combined with the picturesque little *baraa* or yam-house, in which a small attic compartment above is the repository for the sprouting yams.

The Orokaiva, a true *improvisators*, will find the materials for a house at a moment's notice. Overtaken by bad weather or benighted on the road, he will turn aside, fell a few saplings, make a selection of palm or wild banana leaves for thatch, and construct a lean-to or penthouse with a raised floor and a tolerably water-tight roof. A common trick of extempore construction is to use a slanting strut so tied to the upright that its upper end projects and thus forms a rest for a piece of cross-timber. See Plate XIV*b*.

Of tree houses (*sawai*), which were formerly common enough, I have seen no evidence in the whole Division.

[1 i.e. an interior platform or shelf above the floor—Analyst]
[2 i.e. the floor proper—Analyst]
[3 i.e. walled in space beneath the floor—Analyst]

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except for certain large trees which are said to have supported them in less reposeful days. They were not fighting-tops so much as places of refuge in which a surprised village might keep its assailants at bay until the blasts of the wooden trumpets brought help from surrounding allies. They were built in the branches of large trees in or near the village (sometimes in several adjacent trees connected with cane gangways), and were furnished with cane-ladders or 'legs' (*sawai-tsi*). The stockade provided another means of defence, though this too has disappeared with the coming of the King's peace.

A method of dwelling which I believe to be unique in Papua is described by Beaver, and, though he had not the witness of his eyes, it appears that he was dealing with a reliable informant.

'I had many times heard', he writes, 'that the Dogi people used to live on rafts moored round the lake, and had been inclined to look upon the story as rather of the traveller's tale variety, but I found that it was actually the case. They used to live on the shore, but, owing to successive raids by the Iawabuie and Binandele, the Dogi built huge rafts —the water was too deep to sink piles—and constructed their houses on these refuges. Ninei, the present village constable, a man about 40, was born on one of these floating arks, and he tells me the people were living on them when first visited by Mr. M. M. Clark.'[1]

It was probably about 1895 that Mr. Clark was prospecting in this neighbourhood, and the lake referred to is presumably Lake Koena. I did not visit the locality myself and can only verify the legend of the eel and the flood which Beaver tells in connexion with the origin of the lake. I found this legend, however, coupled with the adventures of two surviving children rescued by a woman named Bobokoia, who was of great size, like an island, with sago palms growing on her back. The children lived on this floating island or woman until finally they settled on shore again. It seems hardly credible that the story of the raft-dwellings should have turned into that of Bobokoia within the time, though the likeness seems suspicious. It is not improbable that the raft dwellings were of no more than a temporary nature, and that the legend dates back much earlier.

[1] *Annual Report*, 1914–15, p. 14.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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X 794 158 doctrines, but they have one highly distinctive and important feature in common, viz. the shaking-fit. Since the shaking-fit is the very life and soul of the Taro cult (its doctrines being of comparatively small import in native estimation), it might even be maintained that Taro had arisen, so to speak, from the ashes of *Baigona*, with certain differences of only secondary significance.

X 794 ● 178 However this may be, we have observed variant cults coming into existence from time to time, some of them showing but slight variations from the original, others differing so importantly as to become rivals of the original. We have marked the native medicine-man's love of independence and notoriety: he longs for the limelight, and there is always an element—large or small—of originality in his inspiration. It is not unreasonable to suppose that motives of jealousy, ambition for notoriety, and love of independence, may give rise to local variations of a truly original nature. The ambitious Taro man seizes upon a new idea and incorporates it into his own version of the cult. As it is surely unnecessary to suppose that these new ideas are introduced from a different culture, we may claim to see a movement growing and changing on its own ground, the seeds of growth being the chance ideas of its followers.

These changes are, as we have seen, often of a trifling nature. But they are not always so. We have briefly discussed the *Diroga*, the *Eriri*, and the *Hobora* cults, and have seen how considerably they differ from the original Taro. The cult of Manau is still more widely differentiated. It matters little whether we regard these as offshoots of the Taro cult or as independent growths; and it matters no more whether we regard Taro itself as an independent growth or as an offshoot from *Baigona*. In either case we see the sudden emergence of highly distinctive types.

Thus we find two kinds of development: one by the addition or substitution of trifling details such as is made by almost every new convert to the Taro cult; the other

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by the sudden and somewhat revolutionary change which gives rise to what we might call a new cult. These two types of change present a striking analogy to the two kinds of change in biological evolution—the minute variation on the one hand and the mutation on the other. (Indeed, to carry the analogy further, we might say that popular favour exercised a sort of natural selection.) In biology the importance of mutations has of late been recognized. It is suggested here (without being indebted to the analogy except for the use of the term) that a theory of *cultural* mutations might be added to our theories of the growth of civilization. I suggested in the introductory section (not without an appeal to authority) that native culture did not possess that degree of stability or immobility which anthropology has usually taken for granted. The evidence of *Baigona*, of Taro, and of the variant cults seems to demand that we make allowance for swift and important changes—important both because of the greatness of the change in custom and because of the great numbers of people whom it may effect.

It is of the first significance to remember that the Taro cult has sprung up, flourished, and put forth its various new branches among one and the same people—the Orokaiva. If we conclude that Taro is at all indebted to its precursor *Baigona*, we would have to admit that to this extent it is an importation. But there is no question that Taro as a cult, which is to all intents and purposes a new one, came into being among the Orokaiva, and that the variant cults which have been mentioned in the course of the report likewise came into being among the Orokaiva.

Now this people, occupying almost the whole of the Northern Division of Papua, is strikingly homogeneous, not only in physique but also in language and culture. The differences between the several dialects of 'Binandele', puzzling as they are to a European, do very little to hinder the freest intercourse and conversation between members of the various tribes. As for their culture, one

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might fairly say that, despite certain local differences, it is in all fundamental points remarkably uniform.

The external influences which bear upon this civilization are not many. The principal sources of such influence are (1) the Government and the Anglican Mission, (2) the returned indentured labourers. While many new ideas are introduced from both of these sources and take more or less permanent root, it is not necessary to believe that they have given rise to the Taro cult and its variants. The only ways, I believe, in which Government, Missions, or returned labourers can be held responsible for the cults are indirect: they are at once unsettling and repressive. Whether intentionally or no, they have a destructive influence upon old belief, and they are not always able to provide an adequate substitute for what they destroy. Further than this, they keep native passions under and block their accustomed outlets. Under such circumstances the remedy comes from within. It is as if an irritant should provoke some strong internal reaction, or an injury should call for some organic adjustment.

Granting this indirect effect of outside influences, we may claim that the Taro cult and its variants are in themselves of original growth. If, amid the social unrest which accompanies or follows European settlement, there can arise the strange and somewhat exaggerated movements of which we have seen so many examples in Papua, it is not unreasonable to suppose that in other periods of stress there should have arisen similar movements. If this be the case we may suppose that native life in the past has from time to time been subject to sudden and even revolutionary change. Nor is it perhaps necessary to assume that such changes always take place in the phase of social unrest which accompanies the clash with another culture. However this may be, the evidence of the new religious cults of Papua seems to indicate that native custom is capable of changing itself in no insignificant degree.

This view does not, of course, preclude the theory of

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culture contact and transmission. The Taro cult and others of its kindred merely supply some evidence for the old evolutionary hypothesis which is supplementary rather than antagonistic to that of culture contact and transmission. To continue the metaphor again, we might, while making allowance for the gradual change of society by minute variations, lay more stress on the sudden, widespread, and important movements for which I have suggested the name of cultural mutations.

Dreams and Visions and Social Movements. If we examine how these mutations have come about we find that in native theory, and as far as the Taro cult is concerned, it is through the somewhat bizarre agency of a dream or vision. Numbers of such dreams have been described or mentioned in the course of the report. The majority of them, no doubt, are sheer fabrications, designed to secure for the dreamer the credit of direct communication with the spirits. If he has lighted upon some idea which will lend a little individuality to his version of the cult, he will affect to have dreamt it. Then he publishes abroad his idea as if it were conferred upon him in a dream-visitation, and thus wins for it a supernatural sanction. Even when the dream is fictitious it has its effect upon the impressionable native who, as we have observed, is a firm believer in dreams and what they portend.

But there can be no doubt that some at least of the dreams of Taro men and others are genuine. Sometimes the visitation takes the form of vision or hallucination rather than of normal dream. The comparative frequency of mental abnormality among these natives has been remarked. It may be evidenced by trance or seizure, and any visible symptom is regarded as a very strong corroboration of the dream, vision, or hallucination which accompanies it. One highly characteristic phenomenon among the Orokaiva is the retirement into solitude, in which the subject lives like a hare-brained recluse, supporting himself on what he can find, and after

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ness them. Thus the seer, the neurotic, and the madman gain a power and ascendancy over the normal by their very abnormality.

It is not by any means maintained that the mutations of culture have their invariable rise in dreams, sane or insane. But the frequency with which these have been put forward as explanations of the new cults makes it possible that they are at least to some extent the original source of them. If this be really so, then we see movements of importance based on the baseless fabric of dreams or even on the hallucinations of the insane.

The Spread of the Taro Cult. It was suggested that the spread of the Taro movement, rather than its actual origin, was a matter of practical interest. The general methods of its dissemination have already been described. It is here proposed to debate this question anew and to suggest reasons why the dissemination has been so complete and so successful. The matter might be considered from two angles—the acceptability of the cult and the susceptibility of the native.

(1) *The Acceptability of the Cult.* We have seen the reputedly conservative native receiving with open arms a very considerable change in his religious life. But we have also noted the newest or the most startling features of the Taro cult toning down so as to harmonize better with the existent cultural background. I refer to the way in which the worship of the taro spirits, an idea which is alien to native habits of thought, has gradually yielded place to the old-fashioned worship of the dead.

While this adaptation has taken place the general activities of the cult have remained the same. The feasting, the singing, and the placatory offerings are performed or offered with the same zeal, no matter whether they are in behalf of the taro plant itself or of the dead. The *iipari* is still indulged in with the same abandon, no matter whether the taro spirits or the dead have inspired it. This all bears out the view that, in native religion, theory or doctrine is wholly subordinate to action or

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ritual.[1] And this view is further substantiated by the general fact that those who carry out all the observances of the Taro cult with precision and confidence are often ignorant of or indifferent to its theories.

Furthermore, we must credit the new cult with a large degree of adaptability. It has conformed to native standards of hospitality—one might say prodigality; it has given a fillip to the power of the medicine-men; it has inspired the food quest with a new enthusiasm. It fits in, so to speak, with native customs and native interests. And what is more, it has never, as far as I know, been antagonistic toward existing ceremonies. (If it has interfered with these ceremonies it has done so simply by replacing rather than by opposing them.)

It is by virtue of these two facts, I believe, that the Taro cult has proved so acceptable to the Orokaiva. First, it is primarily a ceremonial, not a faith; second, it is conformable to native interests. From this acceptability of the Taro cult we might perhaps draw a lesson. Compared with its sweeping advance the slow and laborious progress of Christianity among the natives might be thought discouraging. It is true that Christianity is much farther removed from existent native culture than is the Taro cult, and consequently more subject to the hostility of native conservatism, so that it would be entirely unjust to make a fifty-fifty comparison. And it may well be that exponents of Christianity would be averse to adapting their religion too closely to native customs in order simply to make it agreeable. However, it is in this direction, I consider, that the best tactical approach lies for mission enterprise.

It is essential that we bear in mind the emotional aspect of primitive religion, and remember that unless religion provides some emotional satisfaction it fails to fulfil what is perhaps its principal *raison d'être*. The Taro cult—which is obviously enough a religious movement if we allow a proper wideness to the term—gives its devotees

[1] Cf. 'Vailala Madness', pp. 58–9.

3: Reay E-4, 5 (1951) 1953 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

he goes, and if she does not steal from the other women. Orokaiva society is organized about the men and the expression of their personalities. To be *otohu*, a man has to be generous; what is required of the woman is that she should concur in her husband's generosity. Wealth is valued, because the possession of enough pigs and a good supply of taro makes it possible for a man to hold a feast. Holding feasts is the epitome of generosity, which is the most important Orokaiva virtue. Men are encouraged to be highly individualistic. Women are individualistic, too, but this seems to be a by-product of male individualism.

The *otohu* ornaments, which are worn by many, are presented during the initiation ceremony to some of the novitiates, but they may be acquired later, on payment of a pig. They were largely homicidal insignia in former times. Some of them still signify that the wearer has killed a pig, but mostly they are ornaments which express the wearer's preparedness to enact the virtues listed above.

How far do the Orokaiva conform to the *otohu* virtues? They are generous and helpful to one another. They work their gardens regularly enough to ensure a plentiful supply of vegetable products from the fertile earth. Apparently adultery takes place rarely, although some of the women habitually accuse their husbands of fornication. Stealing is rare. But the Orokaiva men quarrel and brawl, and the Orokaiva women use "strong talk" to their husbands. So long as the individual does this only occasionally, he or she can still claim to be *otohu*. I have stressed the *otohu* virtues to make it clear that the norm in Orokaiva society is not in conformity with minimum legal requirements, but an approximation to ideal standards.

As well as conforming to the *otohu* ideals, an adult male is expected to be strong and fearless. This expectation is largely unverbalized, excepting in reminiscences of the idealized past. The Orokaiva have a bloody background of constant warfare with the Managalasi and the Togaho as well as continual internecine strife. The war leaders, fearless and fearsome, are greatly admired in retrospect and are held up to the young boys as examples of ideal personalities to emulate. When an institution loses influence and even disintegrates or becomes extinct, motivations continue to be patterned in accordance with them. Warfare happens no longer,[4] so to-day much of the training of Orokaiva boys is anachronistic, because of this "subjective lag."

(2) Education in Conformity

Viewed as a process which implements social control by teaching what norms should be adhered to and what are the consequences of aberrant behaviour, education presents three important aspects: Firstly, it involves the *internalization of norms or ideal patterns*. We are concerned with discovering the values held by adults to be important enough to impress upon the growing child. There are the explicit values, and in studying how these are impressed upon the child we should look for implicit values which are incidentally transmitted. Education occurs within the field of adult-child interaction, which is inevitably authoritative in some respects. In as

[4] Monckton, in the *Papuan Annual Report* for 1904, reports that the pacification of the tribes of this area was accomplished in that year.

3: Reay E-4, 5 (1951) 1953 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

child's teeth tickled her in their tentative exploring. All these mothers laughed at the infants, with comments signifying, " He is not content to drink my milk ; he wants to eat me, too."

When the baby learns to walk, even if he is still unsteady on his feet, he ceases to be *meni orosati* and is known as *meni isapa* until he is about eight or nine years old. He stays at home with his older siblings while his mother goes to the garden, but she does not stay there all day now. She leaves the village quite early in the morning and returns to prepare a midday meal. As soon as the child is able to walk with his mother without impeding her progress, he goes to the garden with her. As he grows older, he plays with the other children in the gardens and may help his mother a little. Children of two or three years eat solid foods, mainly taro, but they still suckle. If they hang around their mother, except to approach the breast, she scolds them and makes them go away. Sometimes, if she is busy or does not want to sit down, she refuses them the breast. They go to their father, who spends much of his time sitting on the ground talking with the other men. The father takes the child between his legs, delouses his head affectionately, and holds him in his arms. It is always to the father that the child, especially the male child, runs for comfort.

The *meni isapa*, particularly at the age of two or three years, are the butt of jokes from the grown men, who frighten them by making strange noises and lungeing threateningly in their direction then laughing loudly as they watch the children cry, register bewilderment and run to their fathers. When their initial terror is overcome, the children learn to laugh at their own fright. This happens continually, until the child learns not to be afraid, imitates the men's frightening noises and grins back at them cheekily. All this is accepted by the women, who make no attempt to shield their children from experiencing such frights. If the men are her kinfolk, or friends of her husband or brother, the mother will join in with their raucous laughter. If they are strangers, she will take no notice of the incident. This frightening of small boys (*meni isapa*) is deliberate. Sometimes little girls are frightened incidentally at the same time, but no one takes much notice of this. Men do not go out of their way o frighten the little girls.

From about nine years till initiation at fifteen or sixteen, the child is known as *meni dombo*, or " big boy " (female *meni kakara dombo*). I know very little about the *meni dombo*, either male or female. Married women among the Orokaiva are alarmed by the behaviour of the *meni kakara dombo*, who approach men casually to demand cigarettes and to talk freely about sexual matters in a joking way. This suggests that parents probably exercised more control in former times over the older children.

In Orokaiva childhood there are at least two conflict situations. At teething, the infant learns that he must not bite the mother's breast. Biting is accorded the immediate punishment of physical blows and unfeeling laughter at the child's expense. A three years old boy wanted to suckle and was kept waiting by his mother, who told him that she was busy and that he was getting too old to suckle anyway. He retaliated by biting her breast, but she hit him, scolded him and chased him away,

4: Chinnery & Haddon E-5 (ca. 1915) 1917
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FIVE NEW RELIGIOUS CULTS IN BRITISH NEW GUINEA.

E. W. P. CHINNERY, F.R.A.I., AND
A. C. HADDON, Sc.D., F.R.S.

I.

E. W. P. CHINNERY.

668 I HAVE recently been engaged in observing the origin of two religous cults known as "Kava-Keva" and "Kekesi." They are animistic practices that, notwithstanding their prohibition, have already become powerful, and extend from the Gira River (8° S. lat.) to Buna Bay.[1]

769 774 The belief in ghosts and spirits is a predominant characteristic of the northern native. In almost every tribe I have observed the propitiation of family ghosts with individual offerings of food by ordinary persons to secure the vitality of their food supply, and by sorcerers to stimulate their charms. Ghosts are invoked during ceremonies by divination to reveal crimes and criminals. Food offerings to ghosts are made during death feasts and during certain initiation rites. The house of initiation and the paraphernalia of the dance are believed to have spiritual powers, and when the paraphernalia are thrown into the river at the completion of the rites, they are invoked to smite the enemies of the dancers.

776 669 178 Yet, although the spirits and ghosts are legion, I had nowhere come across any conception of a supreme spirit until the outbreak of the Kava-Keva[2] movement, when the villages

[1] It may be well to note that the Gira River opens at about 8° S. lat. on the north coast of British New Guinea, and that the mouth of the Mamba River is four miles to the south, both being in the Mambare Division. Buna is on the south of Holnicote (Gona) Bay, about 8° 37′ S. lat., and is in the Kumusi Division. Kororo, Mount Victory, is an active volcano, nearly 5000 feet in height, a little to the west of Cape Nelson, which is about 9° S. lat.

[2] "Kava-Keva" is a Motuan word which is used extensively throughout the tribes of British New Guinea by adoption to express a condition of madness or irresponsibility either temporary or permanent.

4: Chinnery & Haddon E-5 (ca. 1915)1917
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concerned discarded individual practices in favour of co-operation; or, more strictly, changed from the worship of individual ghosts to the worship of the "Food-Spirit." The Kava-Keva is, I understand, positively a new idea, and not an attempt to revive old customs. Whilst observing the Kava-Keva rites on the second occasion I invited Mr Copland King, a clergyman of the Anglican Mission, to attend with me, and he has since written a paper on the subject. Mr King and I are the only Europeans who witnessed the beginning of the Kava-Keva rites, and I alone witnessed the beginning of the Kekesi rites. The following account of the two cults is based upon information supplied to me by Boninia and Bia at the inception.

1. THE "KAVA-KEVA" RITES.—Boninia is an elderly native of Taututu, one of the villages of the Dowai-ia division of the Binandere tribe, on the lower Mamba River. He was a man of no reputation as a magician or prophet. Early, however, in 1914 he visited the other villages of his group—Gauoro (on the coast), Duvira, and Tsiu (up the river)—and announced that he had been "struck down" in his garden by the "Spirit of Taro" (the staple diet). He had been told, he said, to warn the people that their dilatory methods of cultivation had given displeasure, and that unless they observed a ritual which had been taught to him, the "Food-Spirit" would destroy their gardens and force them to live on sago. Boninia's message was received without enthusiasm, and the ritual was declined. Nothing more came of the incident until the following November, when a young girl named Dasiga, of the village of Gauoro, developed a condition of mental abnormality. For a day or two she was quite oblivious of her surroundings, and chanted mechanically a new song, which was identified as part of the ritual disclosed by the man Boninia. In response to the request of the people Boninia examined the girl, and, in conformity with his advice, she was taken into the gardens, and there, amongst the taro leaves, as he had foretold, the "Spirit left her," and she recovered her normal state. Two or three days later she returned to her village. Then, almost immediately, she relapsed into her Kava-Keva condition, and simultaneously one other Gauoro girl and four young men "were visited by the Spirit." A second messenger to Boninia found that the "sickness" had appeared in each of the villages of the group, and that several natives were "possessed" and under treatment by Boninia. The headmen of the group were considerably alarmed, and called a meeting in Gauoro. Here those who had been "visited" disclosed the communica-

4: Chinnery & Haddon E-5 (ca. 1915)1917
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II.

A. C. Haddon.

The following article was written a year before receiving Mr Chinnery's communication. I think it advisable to let both papers appear together, as they throw light upon each other.

The natives of the Kumusi, and more especially of the Mambare Divisions, must be in an excited condition, for the new cults noted by Mr Chinnery do not seem to be related with the somewhat earlier cult to which I call attention, nor is there any evidence of the slightest connection between these and the abortive message of the Milne Bay "prophet." It is interesting to observe that M. Moszkowski[1] records a Messiah belief among the coast tribes of the Mamberamo, a river that opens by Cape D'Urville, in Netherlands New Guinea, at the eastern limit of Geelvink Bay. He says that there is everywhere met with amongst the coastal tribes a belief in Manseren Korēri, an ancient culture hero, and that the belief is certainly older than the first appearance of the missionaries. Very long ago there lived, according to this belief, a man endowed with supernatural and divine powers. He gave the Papuans laws and regulations, and founded the men's ceremonial houses. But, because the Papuans gradually neglected his commands, one day he vanished. Yet, so the legend runs, he will eventually return, and then everything will be renewed. Therefore is he called Manseren Korēri, the god at whose return everything will cast its skin.

An awakening of religious activity is a frequent characteristic of periods of social unrest. The weakening or disruption of the older social order may stimulate new and often bizarre ideals, and these may give rise to religious movements that strive to sanction social or political aspirations. Communities that feel themselves oppressed anticipate the emergence of a hero who will restore their prosperity and prestige. And when the people are imbued with religious fervour the expected hero will be regarded as a Messiah. Phenomena of this kind are well known in history, and are not unknown at the present day among peoples in all stages of civilisation.[2]

It is significant that even among the savages of New

[1] *Zeitsch. f. Ethnol.*, xliii., 1911, p. 327.

[2] The Ghost Dances of the Indians of the Plains of N. America, which partake of a Messianic character, may serve as an example.

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Guinea fresh forms of religious activity come into being from time to time definitely as a reaction against the encroachment of the white man. But the mainspring of others is at present obscure, and appears to be more distinctly related to purely native ideas. These cults afford a valid ground of argument against the very prevalent notion of the permanence of all native institutions and of the supposed disinclination of primitive peoples to adopt new ideas or new cults. In the five instances we are here concerned with, the movement has been stopped by the Government, so there are no means of telling how permanent they might have become. They illustrate, at all events, the methods by which cults have probably spread in the past, and, as I have previously suggested,[1] we have evidence elsewhere of a definite propaganda. Indeed, we might go further, and admit that savages may occasionally have a missionary zeal which impels them to impart to the benighted heathen the ceremonial or cult that yields to themselves so much satisfaction. The new observations of Mr Chinnery indicate nervous conditions which, so far as I am aware, have not been previously recorded of the natives of New Guinea, although they conform to what is well known in other parts of the world.

1. The Baigona Cult.—The Baigona cult is of interest because "it illustrates the growth of a movement which is developing into a new religion before our eyes. The sorcery of Baigona seems to be of the kind generally known as white magic, like the Babalau of the Motu, but there is a danger that it may develop into systematic extortion."[2] A large snake, called Baigona, which lives on Keroro (Mount Victory), first became known by killing a man and making all the other people ill. Later it took a man named Maine to the top of Keroro, cut out his heart, dried it in the sun, and then placed it over the fire in its house, so that it would get well smoked. Remaining on the top of the mountain, Maine was initiated into the mysteries of Baigona, and given certain medicines that would cure all diseases. Thereupon he was allowed to return to his village, taking his heart with him, which he hung up under the verandah of his house. Amongst other instructions received by Maine from Baigona was one to the effect that he should proceed up the coast and in certain centres appoint other "Baigona men," all of whom were to be junior to himself. This he did, and there are "Baigonas" all along the

[1] *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, 1908, vi. pp. 44–46.

[2] Lieut.-Governor Murray, *Ann. Rep., Papua*, 1911–12, p. 14.